

# OPTIMALITY THEORY

RENÉ KAGER

 **CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, UK <http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk>  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA <http://www.cup.org>  
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1999

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Times 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ /13pt [GC]

*A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data*

Kager, René.

Optimality theory / René Kager.

p. cm. – (Cambridge textbooks in linguistics)

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

ISBN 0 521 58019 6 (hardback). ISBN 0 521 58980 0 (paperback)

1. Optimality theory (Linguistics) I. Title. II. Series.

P158.42.K35 1999

410'.1 – dc21 98–39103 CIP

ISBN 0 521 58019 6 hardback

ISBN 0 521 58980 0 paperback

# CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page xi</i>
<b>1 Conflicts in grammars</b>	1
1.1 Introduction: goals of linguistic theory	1
1.2 Basic concepts of OT	3
1.3 Examples of constraint interaction	14
1.4 The architecture of an OT grammar	18
1.5 Interactions of markedness and faithfulness	27
1.6 Lexicon Optimization	32
1.7 A factorial typology of markedness and faithfulness	34
1.8 On defining segment inventories	43
1.9 Conclusion	47
<b>2 The typology of structural changes</b>	52
2.1 Introduction	52
2.2 Nasal substitution and related effects	59
2.3 The typology of *N <sub>C</sub> effects	78
2.4 Conspiracies of nasal substitution and other processes	83
2.5 Conclusion: a comparison with rule-based theory	86
<b>3 Syllable structure and economy</b>	91
3.1 Introduction	91
3.2 The basic syllable typology	92
3.3 Epenthesis and the conflict of well-formedness and faithfulness	98
3.4 Generalized Alignment	117
3.5 The quality of epenthetic segments	124
3.6 Coda conditions	130
3.7 Conclusion	139
	vii

*Contents*

<b>4</b>	<b>Metrical structure and parallelism</b>	142
4.1	Introduction	142
4.2	Word stress: general background	143
4.3	Case-study: rhythmic lengthening in Hixkaryana	148
4.4	A set of metrical constraints	161
4.5	Case-study: rhythmic syncope in Southeastern Tepehuan	177
4.6	Conclusions	189
<b>5</b>	<b>Correspondence in reduplication</b>	194
5.1	Introduction	194
5.2	Reduplicative identity: the constraints	201
5.3	From classical templates to generalized templates	216
5.4	From circumscription to alignment	223
5.5	'Classical' versus OT-based prosodic morphology: conclusions	229
5.6	Overapplication and underapplication in reduplication	230
5.7	Summary of Correspondence Theory	248
<b>6</b>	<b>Output-to-output correspondence</b>	257
6.1	Introduction	257
6.2	Identity effects in truncation	259
6.3	Identity effects in stem-based affixation	273
6.4	The cycle versus base-identity	277
6.5	Output-to-output correspondence: conclusions	293
<b>7</b>	<b>Learning OT grammars</b>	296
7.1	Introduction	296
7.2	Learning constraint rankings	297
7.3	Learning the Pintupi grammar of stress	300
7.4	The learning algorithm: discussion	321
7.5	Learning alternations and input representations	324
<b>8</b>	<b>Extensions to syntax</b>	341
8.1	Introduction	341
8.2	OT and syntax	341
8.3	The structure of extended verbal projections in English	353
8.4	Typological consequences	366
8.5	Conclusions	369

	<i>Contents</i>
<b>9 Residual issues</b>	372
9.1 Introduction	372
9.2 Opacity	372
9.3 Absolute ungrammaticality	400
9.4 Free variation	404
9.5 Positional faithfulness	407
9.6 Underlying Representations versus allomorphy	413
9.7 Conclusion: future perspectives	420
 <i>References</i>	 425
<i>Index of languages</i>	445
<i>Index of subjects</i>	447
<i>Index of constraints</i>	451

# I

## Conflicts in grammars

### 1.1 Introduction: goals of linguistic theory

#### 1.1.1 *Universality*

The central goal of linguistic theory is to shed light on the core of grammatical principles that is common to all languages. Evidence for the assumption that there should be such a core of principles comes from two domains: language typology and language acquisition. Over the past decades our knowledge of linguistic typology has become more and more detailed, due to extensive fieldwork and fine-grained analysis of data from languages of different families. From this large body of research a broad picture emerges of ‘unity in variety’: core properties of grammars (with respect to the subsystems of sounds, words, phrases, and meaning) instantiate a set of universal properties. Grammars of individual languages draw their basic options from this limited set, which many researchers identify as Universal Grammar (UG). Each language thus reflects, in a specific way, the structure of ‘LANGUAGE’. A second source of evidence for universal grammatical principles comes from the universally recurring patterns of first language acquisition. It is well known that children acquiring their first language proceed in remarkably similar ways, going through developmental stages that are (to a large extent) independent of the language being learnt. By hypothesis, the innateness of UG is what makes grammars so much alike in their basic designs, and what causes the observed developmental similarities.

The approach to universality sketched above implies that linguistic theory should narrow down the class of universally possible grammars by imposing restrictions on the notions of ‘possible grammatical process’ and ‘possible interaction of processes’. In early Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1965, Chomsky and Halle 1968), processes took the shape of *rewrite rules*, while the major mode of interaction was *linear ordering*. Rewrite rules take as their input a linguistic representation, part of which is modified in the output. Rules apply one after another, where one rule’s output is the next rule’s input. It was soon found that this rule-based theory hardly imposes any limits on the notion of ‘possible rule’,

### *Conflicts in grammars*

nor on the notion of ‘possible rule interaction’. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, considerable efforts were put into constraining both rule typology and interactions. The broad idea was to factor out universal properties of rules in the form of *conditions*.<sup>1</sup> While rules themselves may differ between languages, they must always respect a fixed set of universal principles. Gradually more and more properties were factored out of rules and attributed to universal conditions on rules and representations. Developments came to their logical conclusion in Principles-and-Parameters Theory (Chomsky 1981b, Hayes 1980), which has as its central claim that grammars of individual languages are built on a central core of fixed universal properties (*principles*), plus a specification of a limited number of universal binary choices (*parameters*). Examples of parameters are the side of the ‘head’ (left or right) in syntactic phrases, or the obligatoriness (yes/no) of an onset in a syllable. At the same time, considerable interest developed in *representations*, as a way of constraining rule application, mainly with respect to *locality* (examples are trace theory in syntax, and underspecification theory in phonology). Much attention was also devoted to constraining rule interactions, resulting in sophisticated theories of the architecture of UG (the ‘T’-model) and its components (e.g. Lexical Phonology, Kiparsky 1982b).

#### 1.1.2 *Markedness*

What all these efforts to constrain rules and rule interactions share, either implicitly or explicitly, is the assumption that universal principles can only be universal if they are actually *inviolable* in every language. This interpretation of ‘universality’ leads to a sharp increase in the abstractness of both linguistic representations and rule interactions. When some universal principle is violated in the output of the grammar, then the characteristic way of explaining this was to set up an intermediate level of representation at which it is actually satisfied. Each grammatical principle thus holds at a specific level of description, and may be switched off at other levels.

This *absolute* interpretation of universality is not the only one possible, however. In structuralist linguistics (Hjelmslev 1935, Trubetzkoy 1939, Jakobson 1941; cf. Anderson 1985), but also in Generative Phonology (Chomsky and Halle 1968, Kean 1975, Kiparsky 1985) and Natural Phonology (Stampe 1972, Hooper 1976), a notion of MARKEDNESS plays a key role, which embodies universality in a ‘soft’ sense. The idea is that all types of linguistic structure have two values, one of which is ‘marked’, the other ‘unmarked’. Unmarked values are cross-linguistically preferred and basic in all grammars, while marked values are cross-linguistically avoided and used by grammars only to create contrast. For example,

<sup>1</sup> For example, SUBJACENCY was proposed as a universal condition on syntactic movement rules and the OBLIGATORY CONTOUR PRINCIPLE as a universal condition on phonological rules.

## 1.2 Basic concepts of OT

all languages have unrounded front vowels such as [i] and [e], but only a subset of languages contrast these vowels with rounded front vowels such as [y] and [ø]. Hence, the unmarked value of the distinctive feature [round] is [-round] in front vowels. At a suprasegmental level, markedness affects prosodic categories. For example, the unmarked value for syllable closure is ‘open’ since all languages have open syllables (CV, V), while only a subset of languages allow closed syllables (CVC, VC).<sup>2</sup> The notion of markedness is not only relevant to sound systems. Markedness principles have been proposed for morphological and syntactic systems as well (Chomsky 1981a).

The markedness approach of linguistic universality is built on two assumptions. First, markedness is inherently a relative concept: that is, a marked linguistic element is not ill-formed *per se*, but only in comparison to other linguistic elements. Second, what is ‘marked’ and ‘unmarked’ for some structural distinction is not an arbitrary formal choice, but rooted in the articulatory and perceptual systems. By this combination of two factors, markedness allows an interpretation of universality that is fundamentally different from Principles-and-Parameters Theory, in which markedness has no substantive status in the grammar, but functions as an external system of annotations on parameter values, evaluating a grammar’s ‘complexity’.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.2 Basic concepts of OT

OPTIMALITY THEORY (Prince and Smolensky 1993, McCarthy and Prince 1993a,b) turns markedness statements into the actual substance of grammars. Markedness is built into grammars in the form of universal OUTPUT CONSTRAINTS which *directly* state marked or unmarked patterns, for example: ‘front vowels are unrounded’ or ‘syllables are open’. The universal interpretation of markedness constraints is reconciled with the observation that languages, to a certain extent at least, tolerate marked types of structures. Universal markedness constraints can be literally *untrue* for a grammar’s output, or to phrase it in optimality-theoretic terms: constraints are VIOLABLE. Violation of a constraint is not a direct cause of ungrammaticality, nor is absolute satisfaction of all constraints essential to the grammar’s outputs. Instead what determines the best output of a grammar is the least costly violation of the constraints. Constraints are intrinsically in CONFLICT, hence every logically possible output of any grammar will necessarily violate at least some constraint. Grammars must be able to regulate conflicts between universal constraints, in order to select the ‘most harmonic’ or ‘optimal’ output form.

<sup>2</sup> Markedness may also involve scales. For example, the higher a consonant’s sonority value, the more likely its occurrence in the syllable coda.

<sup>3</sup> For the view of markedness as a criterion external to the grammar, evaluating its complexity, see Chomsky and Halle (1968) and Kean (1975, 1981).

### *Conflicts in grammars*

This conflict-regulating mechanism consists of a RANKING of universal constraints. Languages basically differ in their ranking of constraints. Each violation of a constraint is avoided; yet the violation of higher-ranked constraints is avoided ‘more forcefully’ than the violation of lower-ranked constraints. Accordingly, the notion of ‘grammatical well-formedness’ becomes a relative one, which is equivalent to the degree of satisfaction of the constraint hierarchy, or HARMONY.

OT’s viewpoint of UG is fundamentally different from that of classical rule-based generative theory, where UG is defined as a set of inviolate principles and rule schemata (or ‘parameters’). OT defines UG as a set of universal constraints (markedness relations and other types of constraints, as we will see below), and a basic alphabet of linguistic representational categories. In its interactions, it is limited to a single device: constraint ranking. OT still shares with its rule-based generative ancestors the central position taken by UG, as described above. OT is a theory of the human language capacity.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. Section 1.2 will introduce basic notions of OT: conflict, constraints, and domination, which will be exemplified in section 1.3. In section 1.4, we will discuss the architecture of an OT grammar. Section 1.5 will deal with interactions of markedness and faithfulness, relating these to the lexicon in section 1.6. A factorial typology of constraint interactions will be developed in section 1.7 and applied to segment inventories in section 1.8. Finally, section 1.9 presents conclusions.

#### **1.2.1 *Language as a system of conflicting universal forces***

At the heart of Optimality Theory lies the idea that language, and in fact every grammar, is a system of conflicting forces. These ‘forces’ are embodied by CONSTRAINTS, each of which makes a requirement about some aspect of grammatical output forms. Constraints are typically conflicting, in the sense that to satisfy one constraint implies the violation of another. Given the fact that no form can satisfy all constraints simultaneously, there must be some mechanism selecting forms that incur ‘lesser’ constraint violations from others that incur ‘more serious’ ones. This selectional mechanism involves hierarchical RANKING of constraints, such that higher-ranked constraints have priority over lower-ranked ones. While constraints are universal, the rankings are not: differences in ranking are the source of cross-linguistic variation.

But before discussing actual constraints and their rankings, let us first find out in a general way about the two major forces embodied by constraints. Two forces are engaged in a fundamental conflict in every grammar. The first is MARKEDNESS, which we use here as a general denominator for the grammatical factors that exert pressure toward *unmarked types of structure*. This force is counterbalanced by

## 1.2 Basic concepts of OT

FAITHFULNESS, understood here as the combined grammatical factors *preserving lexical contrasts*. Let us focus on both general forces to find out why they are inherently conflicting.

In sound systems, certain types of structure – segments, segment combinations, or prosodic structures – are universally favoured over others. For example, front unrounded vowels are unmarked as compared to front rounded vowels, open syllables as compared to closed syllables, short vowels as compared to long vowels, and voiceless obstruents compared to voiced obstruents. As was observed above, marked structures are avoided by all languages, while they are completely banned by some languages. Therefore the notion of markedness is inherently *asymmetrical*.

Most phonologists agree that phonological markedness is ultimately GROUNDED in factors outside of the grammatical system proper. In particular, the systems of articulation and perception naturally impose limitations on which sounds (or sound sequences) should be favoured. Yet explaining markedness relations by phonetic factors does not amount to denying the basis of phonology as a grammatical system, for two reasons. The first reason is that phonetic factors are gradient, and add up to numerical patterns, while phonological factors are categorical, producing patterns whose boundaries are clearly cut by categorical distinctions. The symmetry of phonological systems cannot be captured by the interaction of ‘raw’ phonetic factors. The second reason is that the relative strength of the individual markedness factors varies from language to language, which entails that there must be a language-specific system defining the balance of factors. This is the grammar, a system of ranked constraints, of which phonology is an integral part.

The major force counterbalancing markedness is *faithfulness* to lexical contrasts. A grammar that is maximally ‘faithful’ to a lexical contrast is one in which output forms are completely congruent with their lexical inputs with respect to some featural opposition. Or to put it differently, the total amount of lexically contrastive variation of some feature is realized in all of the grammar’s output forms. For example, a lexical contrast of voicing in obstruents is preserved in output forms regardless of their phonological context (at the end of a word, between vowels, etc.). Thus one may think of faithfulness as the general requirement for linguistic forms to be realized as close as possible to their lexical ‘basic forms’. From a functional angle, the importance of faithfulness is clear: to express contrasts of *meaning*, any language needs a minimal amount of formal *contrast*. Formal contrasts should be preserved in realizations of lexical items, and not be ‘eroded’ (or at least, not too much) by factors reducing markedness. In the realm of sound

### *Conflicts in grammars*

systems (or ‘phonologies’), lexical contrasts are carried by oppositions between sounds, as well as by their combinations. Phonological elements are not the only carriers of lexical contrast. (Although phonology is what we will focus on in this book.) Lexical contrasts are also expressible by word structure (*morphology*) or phrase structure (*syntax*).

Closely related to faithfulness (or preservation of lexical contrasts) is the pressure towards the *shape invariability* of lexically related items in various grammatical contexts. This was known in pre-generative linguistics as ‘paradigm uniformity’. Shape invariance of lexical items is understandable as another priority of linguistic communication: there should be a one-to-one relation between lexical items, the ‘atoms’ of meaning, and the shapes which encode them.

#### 1.2.2 *Conflicts between markedness and faithfulness*

Markedness and faithfulness are inherently *conflicting*. Whenever some lexical contrast is being preserved, there will be some cost associated in terms of markedness *since in every opposition one member is marked*. For example, consider the fact that English limits the possible contrasts in its vowels with respect to the dimensions of backness and rounding: no rounded front vowels stand in contrast to unrounded front vowels. This correlation of rounding and backness in vowels is not idiosyncratic to English, but it reoccurs in a great majority of the world’s languages. In fact it is *grounded* in properties of the articulatory and perceptual systems. Yet this restriction is certainly not ‘universal’ in the sense that all of the world’s languages respect it. Many languages do allow a contrast of rounding in front vowels, thus increasing the potential amount of lexical contrast at the expense of an increase in markedness.

Generally we find that the larger the array of means of encoding lexical contrasts, the larger the complexity of the sound system, either in terms of segmental complexity, or in terms of the combinatory possibilities between segments (‘phonotactics’). A language can be maximally faithful to meaningful sound contrasts only at the expense of an enormous increase in phonological markedness. Conversely, a language can decrease phonological markedness only at the expense of giving up valuable means to express lexical contrast.

First consider what a hypothetical language would look like at one extreme of the spectrum: a language giving maximal priority to the expression of lexical contrasts, while imposing *no markedness restrictions*. We endow this language with the combined segment inventories of the world’s languages, roughly 50 consonants and 30 vowels (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996). We drop combinatory markedness restrictions, allowing all logically possible segment combinations to form a lexical item. Permutation of these 80 segments into lexical items of two

## 1.2 Basic concepts of OT

segments already produces some 6,400 items, including [p<sup>h</sup>ɣ], [ŋλx], and [Oɔ], all highly marked. But why stop at two segments per item? By sheer lack of phonotactic limitations, nothing rules out lexical items of 37 or 4,657 segments, or even longer. Now consider the fact that the number of possible lexical items increases exponentially with the number of segments ( $80^n$ ) so that at segmental length 6 we already approximate an awesome 300 billion potential lexical items. Clearly no human language requires this number of lexical contrasts, hence there is room to impose markedness restrictions on segments and their combinations in lexical items. Since such restrictions make sense from an articulatory and perceptual point of view, we expect to find them.

Let us now turn the tables to find out what a language at the other extreme would look like, a language giving maximal priority to markedness, and minimal priority to the expression of lexical contrasts. Let us assume that this language limits its lexical items to the general shape of CV\* (sequences of consonant–vowel), with  $C \in \{p, t, k\}$  and  $V \in \{i, a\}$ .<sup>4</sup> The complete set of potential monosyllables contains 6 items {pi, pa; ti, ta; ki, ka}, the set of disyllables contains 36 (or  $6^2$ ) items ({pipi, papi, kipi...}), trisyllables 216 (or  $6^3$ ), etc. But stop! We are overlooking the fact that the unmarked length of lexical item is two syllables (this is the minimum size in many languages and by far the most frequent size in most languages). Since we are assuming that this language is maximally concerned about markedness, we should limit word size to two syllables. The bitter consequence is a mini-lexicon containing at most 36 items. Now consider the fact that the lexicon of an average natural language contains some 100,000 items.<sup>5</sup> It is clear that giving maximal priority to markedness implies an acute shortage of lexical contrasts, which no language can afford.

This comparison of two extremes shows that languages may, in principle at least, go astray in either of two ways: by giving blind priority to expression of lexical contrast, resulting in massive costs in terms of markedness or, at the other end of the spectrum, by giving unlimited priority to markedness reduction, resulting in a fatal lack of contrast.

<sup>4</sup> These limitations are actually *grounded* in speech production and perception: every consonant is maximally different from a vowel (hence, all consonants are voiceless stops). Every vowel is maximally different from other vowels (a 2-vowel set, i–a). Every consonant is maximally different from other consonants (place of articulation restricted to labial, alveolar, and velar). Every vowel is preceded by a consonant (no word-initial vowels, no hiatus). Every consonant precedes a vowel for optimal release (hence no consonant clusters nor word-final Cs).

<sup>5</sup> Suppose that our hypothetical language would not respect word size restrictions, having at its disposition all possible CV\*-shaped items. Here, with a maximal density of lexical contrast, all potential items up to seven syllables long would not suffice to build the required size of lexicon. This would only reach to a moderate total of  $(46,656 + 7,776 + 1296 + 216 + 36 + 6) = 55,986$  lexical items. The average item in this language would be over six syllables long. Without doubt, speaking would become a rather time-consuming activity.

*Conflicts in grammars*

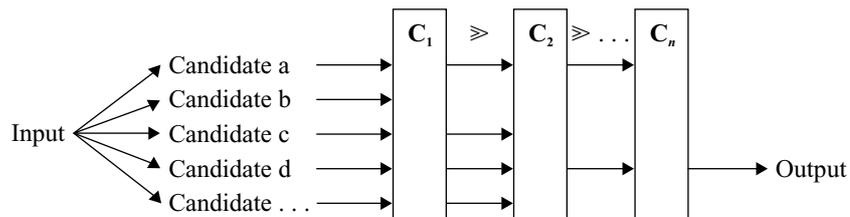
In sum, we have seen that every grammar must reconcile the inherently competing forces of faithfulness to lexical contrasts (the inertness which draws output forms back to their basic lexical shapes) and markedness (minimization of marked forms). However, as we are about to find out, Optimality Theory recognizes no unitary or monolithic forces of faithfulness or markedness: the picture is more fragmented. In the grammars of individual languages, the overall conflict between both ‘forces’ assumes the form of finer-grained interactions of individual *constraints*. At this level, where individual constraints compete, languages are quite diverse in their resolutions of conflicts between ‘markedness’ and ‘faithfulness’. A language may give priority to faithfulness over markedness with respect to some opposition, but reverse its priorities for another opposition.

Let us now turn to the implementation of these basic ideas in Optimality Theory.

1.2.3 *The OT grammar as an input–output device*

The basic assumption of OT is that each linguistic output form is *optimal*, in the sense that it incurs the least serious violations of a set of conflicting constraints. For a given input, the grammar generates and then evaluates an infinite set of output candidates, from which it selects the optimal candidate, which is the actual output. Evaluation takes place by a set of hierarchically ranked constraints ( $C_1 \gg C_2 \gg \dots C_n$ ), each of which may eliminate some candidate outputs, until a point is reached at which only one output candidate survives. This elimination process is represented schematically:<sup>6</sup>

(1) Mapping of input to output in OT grammar



The optimal output candidate is the one that is ‘most harmonic’ with respect to the set of ranked constraints. ‘Harmony’ is a kind of relative well-formedness, taking into account the severity of the violations of individual constraints, as determined by their hierarchical ranking. That is, violation of a higher-ranked

<sup>6</sup> Elimination of less-harmonic candidates is portrayed in (1) as a serial filtering process, but we will learn to view it as a parallel process, with higher-ranked constraints taking priority over lower-ranked constraints.

## 1.2 Basic concepts of OT

constraint incurs a greater cost to harmony than violation of a lower-ranked constraint. Some violations must occur in every output candidate, as constraints impose conflicting requirements. Accordingly, a lower-ranked constraint can be violated to avoid the violation of a higher-ranked one, but violation is always kept to a minimum, given the requirement of maximal harmony.

With the basic assumptions of OT in our minds, let us now turn to a finer-grained discussion of the core notions ‘constraints’, ‘conflict’, ‘domination’, and ‘optimality’.

### 1.2.4 Constraints: universality and violability

Our preliminary definition of CONSTRAINT is: a *structural requirement that may be either satisfied or violated by an output form*. A form SATISFIES a constraint if it fully meets the structural requirement, while any form not meeting this requirement is said to VIOLATE it. For the moment we will assume no degrees of violation, so that output forms are simply categorized by a crude binary criterion as either satisfying or violating a constraint. Forms may satisfy constraints *vacuously*, which is the case if a constraint makes a requirement about some structural element that is not present in a particular candidate.

OT recognizes two types of constraints, *faithfulness* constraints and *markedness* constraints. Each individual constraint evaluates one specific aspect of output markedness or faithfulness. Let us now look into the general properties of both types of constraints, and into their functions in the grammar.

*Markedness* constraints require that output forms meet some criterion of structural well-formedness. As the examples below illustrate, such requirements may take the form of prohibitions of marked phonological structures, including segment types (2a), prosodic structures (2b), or occurrences of segment types in specific positions (2c).

- (2) Examples of markedness constraints
- a. Vowels must not be nasal
  - b. Syllables must not have codas
  - c. Obstruents must not be voiced in coda position
  - d. Sonorants must be voiced
  - e. Syllables must have onsets
  - f. Obstruents must be voiced after nasals

However, markedness constraints may just as well be stated positively, as in (2d–f). Note that markedness constraints refer to output forms only and are blind to the (lexical) input.

### *Conflicts in grammars*

As we have seen in section 1.1, markedness is an inherently asymmetrical notion. Hence, the universal constraint inventory lacks the *antagonist* constraints of (1a–e), which make opposite requirements ‘syllables must have codas’, ‘sonorants must be voiceless’, etc.<sup>7</sup>

*Faithfulness* constraints require that outputs preserve the properties of their basic (lexical) forms, requiring some kind of similarity between the output and its input.

- (3) Examples of faithfulness constraints
- a. The output must preserve all segments present in the input
  - b. The output must preserve the linear order of segments in the input
  - c. Output segments must have counterparts in the input
  - d. Output segments and input segments must share values for [voice]

Faithfulness constraints are, strictly speaking, not pure output constraints, since they take into account elements at two levels: input and output. In contrast, markedness constraints never take into account elements in the input.<sup>8</sup> The important thing is, however, that both kinds of constraints refer to the *output* (exclusively so in markedness, and in relation to the input in faithfulness). OT has no constraints that exclusively refer to the input. (This is a crucial difference from classical generative phonology, as we will see in chapter 2.)

From a functional viewpoint, faithfulness constraints protect the lexical items of a language against the ‘eroding’ powers of markedness constraints, and thereby serve two major communicative functions. First, they preserve *lexical contrasts*, making it possible for languages to have sets of formally distinct lexical items to express different meanings. Phrasing it slightly differently, with an emphasis on contrast, we may say that faithfulness is what keeps the shapes of different lexical items apart. Second, by limiting the distance between input and output, faithfulness constraints restrict the *shape variability* of lexical items. Faithfulness thus keeps the contextual realizations of a single morpheme (called its *alternants*) from drifting too far apart. This enhances the one-to-one relations of meaning and form. In sum, the overall function of faithfulness is to enforce the phonological shape of lexical forms in the output, as a sort of inertness limiting the distance between outputs and their basic shapes.

Two more assumptions are to be made about constraints in OT: they are *universal* and *violable* requirements on some aspect of linguistic output forms. Let us now focus on each of these properties of constraints. The first property is

<sup>7</sup> We will see later that some markedness constraints do have antagonists.

<sup>8</sup> See chapter 9 for OT models which weaken this assumption.

(4) **Universality:** constraints are universal.

In its strongest interpretation, by which all constraints are part of UG, this implies that all constraints are part of the grammars of all natural languages. This is not to say that every constraint will be equally active in all languages. Due to the language-specific ranking of constraints, a constraint that is never violated in one language may be violated but still be active in a second language, and be totally inactive in yet a third language. This strong interpretation, which leaves no room for language-specific constraints, nor for constraint variability, will be slightly relativized below.

For phonological markedness constraints, ‘universality’ may be established by a variety of factors, ideally in combination. The first sense of universality is *typological*: a constraint states a preference for certain structures over other types of structures, which reoccurs in a range of unrelated languages. Segmental markedness constraints, for example, may be validated by inspecting the relative markedness of segments in inventories on a cross-linguistic basis. (Such an overview is presented in Maddieson 1984.) However, any exclusively typology-based definition of universality runs the risk of circularity: certain properties are posited as ‘unmarked’ simply because they occur in sound systems with greater frequency than other ‘marked’ properties.

Hence, a second (non-circular) criterion of universality should ideally accompany typological criteria: phonological markedness constraints should be *phonetically grounded* in some property of articulation or perception. That is, phonetic evidence from production or perception should support a cross-linguistic preference for a segment (or feature value) to others in certain contexts. For example, there is articulatory evidence (to be reviewed in chapter 2) that voiced obstruents are preferred to voiceless obstruents in a position immediately following a nasal. Indeed many languages avoid or disallow voiceless post-nasal obstruents, neutralizing voicing contrasts in this position.<sup>9</sup> Even though a growing number of constraints has been phonetically grounded (see the suggested readings at the end of this chapter), such grounding is still lacking for others.

It should be clear from this discussion that we should be very careful about positing any constraint lacking both typological motivation and phonetic grounding, even if there is compelling motivation for it from the language data under analysis. Nevertheless, not all constraints that have been proposed in the OT literature satisfy both criteria, indicating that the major issue of universality of constraints has not yet been resolved, since analysts do not share the same criteria. In this book, whenever we employ a constraint that strikes us as ‘parochial’ or

<sup>9</sup> Post-nasal voicing and its typological consequences will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

### *Conflicts in grammars*

language-specific (since it lacks both phonetic grounding and cross-linguistic motivation), this will be indicated.

However, the universality of constraints should directly be relativized somewhat. We will find that in special cases, language-specific elements may occur in constraints of otherwise universal formats. This option is typical for a class of constraints defining the interface of morphology and phonology, so-called ‘alignment’ constraints, matching up the edges of specific morphemes and prosodic categories. (See chapters 3 and 5.) Such interface constraints define schemata in which individual languages may substitute their specific morphemes.

We now move on to the second major property of OT constraints: their ‘softness’, or violability. Violability of constraints must be understood in a specific way: the general requirement is that it must be minimal:

- (5) **Violability:** constraints are violable, but violation must be minimal.

No constraint is violated without a compelling reason: avoiding the violation of another higher-ranked constraint. And even if a constraint is violated, violation must be kept to a minimum. Everything else being equal, forms with ‘lesser’ violations are more harmonic than forms with ‘greater’ violations. (Exactly how *degree of violation* is determined will be taken up in section 1.4.3.) Violability of constraints is an essential property of OT, representing a radical break away from derivational models, as well as from constraint-based theories, such as *Declarative Phonology* (Bird 1990, Scobbie 1991), which assume that constraints are ‘hard’ or inviolate. (For a broad comparison with derivational theory, see chapter 2.)

This discussion of violable constraints gives rise to an important new question, to which we now turn: what is the ‘optimal’ candidate?

#### 1.2.5 *Optimality: domination and conflict*

As mentioned before, optimality is the status of being most harmonic with respect to a set of conflicting constraints. It is now time to take a closer look at the concept of OPTIMAL in OT. The general idea is that the grammar evaluates an infinite set of candidate output forms, all analyses of a given input. From this candidate set it selects the *optimal output*, the one which ‘best matches’ the set of conflicting constraints. But what precisely does it mean for an output to be ‘optimal’? Does it involve some sort of compromise between constraints of different strengths? Or is it perhaps the case that ‘weaker’ constraints are rendered ‘inactive’ when they come into conflict with ‘stronger’ constraints?

In fact optimality involves neither *compromise* nor *suppression* of constraints, but instead it is built on (strict) domination of constraints in a hierarchy.

1.2 Basic concepts of OT

- (6) **Optimality:** an output is ‘optimal’ when it incurs the least serious violations of a set of constraints, taking into account their hierarchical ranking.

So we assume that each output form of the grammar is by definition the ‘best possible’ in terms of the *hierarchy* of constraints, rather than the form which matches all constraints at the same time. ‘Perfect’ output forms are principally non-existent, as every output form will violate at least some constraints. Therefore the selection of the ‘optimal’ output form involves setting priorities.

This is where a hierarchy comes into play. Conflicts are resolved by DOMINATION:

- (7) **Domination:** the higher-ranked of a pair of conflicting constraints takes precedence over the lower-ranked one.

This tentative definition will be refined below in section 1.4, on the basis of more complex cases.

The ranking of constraints can be demonstrated by a TABLEAU: this lists two (or any number of) output candidates vertically in random order, and constraints horizontally, in a descending ranking from left to right. The cells contain violation marks ‘\*’ incurred by each candidate for the constraint heading the column. Schematically:

- (8) A tableau for simple domination

	$C_1$	$C_2$
a. $\text{☞}$ candidate a		*
b. candidate b	*!	

The optimal candidate is marked by the index ‘☞’. This candidate is (8a), which has no violations of the higher-ranked constraint  $C_1$ , a constraint violated by its competitor (8b). Note that the optimal candidate (8a) is actually not impeccable itself: it has a violation of  $C_2$ , but this flaw is insignificant to the outcome. Although the pattern of violations for  $C_2$  is the reverse of that for  $C_1$ , this does not help candidate b. Its violation of  $C_1$  is already fatal, indicated by the accompanying exclamation mark ‘!’ and the shading of cells whose violation content is no longer relevant. In sum, candidate (a) is optimal as *no candidate* is available that fares better, satisfying *both constraints* at the same time. A violation of  $C_2$  is taken for granted, as long as  $C_1$  can be satisfied.

We now turn to exemplification of the ideas that have been introduced thus far.

### 1.3 Examples of constraint interaction

#### 1.3.1 *Neutralization of voicing contrast in Dutch*

Among the universal and violable constraints is the following:

- (9)        **\*VOICED-CODA**  
             Obstruents must not be voiced in coda position.

This is a typical *markedness* constraint, which bans a marked segment type (here: voiced obstruents) from the syllable coda (which is itself a marked position).<sup>10</sup>

Coda obstruents are voiceless in Dutch, as illustrated by the following alternation:

- (10)        a. /bɛd/    bɛt    ‘bed’  
              b. /bɛd-ən/ bɛdən ‘beds’

Dutch has no voicing contrast in final obstruents, neutralizing it towards voicelessness.

Next consider the evaluation of two candidate outputs for the input /bɛd/, [bɛt], and [bɛd], with respect to \*VOICED-CODA:

- (11)        Evaluation of two candidates with respect to \*VOICED-CODA  
              a. [bɛt] satisfies \*VOICED-CODA  
                  (since [t] is an obstruent in a syllable coda, and [t] is voiceless)  
              b. [bɛd] violates \*VOICED-CODA  
                  (since [d] is an obstruent in a syllable coda, and [d] is voiced)

If this constraint were the only one relevant for these forms, then things would be simple. Violators could be dismissed without second thoughts. But in actual grammars things are not that simple since constraints may make conflicting requirements about output forms.

A second constraint of the universal inventory is a typical *faithfulness* constraint, requiring that the input value of the feature [voice] be preserved in the output.

- (12)        **IDENT-IO(voice)**  
              The specification for the feature [voice] of an input segment must be preserved in its output correspondent.

<sup>10</sup> Actually \*VOICED-CODA can be interpreted as the conjunction of two markedness statements, an idea to which we will return in chapter 9.

### 1.3 Examples of constraint interaction

This faithfulness constraint mentions a notion ‘correspondent’, which is tentatively (and very informally) defined as follows:

- (13) **Correspondent:** the output segment that is the ‘realization’ of an input segment.

This informal definition is precise enough for our present purposes. (We will return to the important notion of ‘correspondence’, particularly in chapters 2 and 5.)

In a ‘correspondence diagram’ of the Dutch word [bet] ‘bed’ the input and output segments that are correspondents of one another are connected by vertical lines.

- (14) Correspondence diagram of [bet]  
 /b ε d/ Input  
 | | |  
 [b ε t] Output

This diagram indicates that IDENT-IO(voice) is violated in [bet]. Violation arises since [t], a voiceless segment in the output, corresponds with a voiced segment /d/ in the input, and both segments have conflicting values for voice. But at the same time, [bet] satisfies the markedness constraint \*VOICED-CODA, as [t] is a voiceless obstruent in coda position.

We are, of course, looking at a simple conflict between two constraints, \*VOICED-CODA and IDENT-IO(voice). Both constraints make incompatible requirements about the value of voice for any coda obstruent whose input is specified as [+voice]. An evaluation of both candidate outputs, [bed] and [bet], by the conflicting constraints is shown in (15):

- (15) Evaluation of two candidate outputs for the input /bed/  
 a. [bed] satisfies IDENT-IO(voice), but violates \*VOICED-CODA  
 b. [bet] violates IDENT-IO(voice), but satisfies \*VOICED-CODA

Observe the conflict: the evaluation of both output forms is different for each constraint.

This conflict requires resolution, which is the task of the constraint hierarchy. The form [bet] emerges as the *optimal* output of the grammar, given the following fragment of the phonology of the language:

- (16) Coda devoicing in Dutch  
 \*VOICED-CODA ≫ IDENT-IO(voice)

The symbol ‘≫’ connecting both constraints is to be read as ‘dominates’. Hence we read (16) as follows: \*VOICED-CODA dominates IDENT-IO(voice). Domination ensures that the candidate outputs, [bed] and [bet], differ in their relative

*Conflicts in grammars*

well-formedness with respect to the ranking in (16). Or stated differently, [bɛt] is ‘more harmonic’ than [bɛd] with respect to the ranking in (16).

- (17) Harmonic ranking of two output candidates for the input /bɛd/ in Dutch  
 [bɛt] > [bɛd]

Since we are only considering two candidates here, the harmonic ranking directly gives us the optimal output: [bɛt].

The correctness of this constraint ranking can be represented in a tableau-format:

- (18) Tableau for the input /bɛd/, assuming the Dutch ranking

Candidates:	*VOICED-CODA	IDENT-IO(voice)
a. <del>ɛ</del> [bɛt]		*
b. [bɛd]	*!	

The *optimal* candidate in the top row, [bɛt], incurs a violation of IDENT-IO(voice) while it satisfies \*VOICED-CODA. *Suboptimal* [bɛd] has exactly the reverse pattern of violations: it has a violation mark for \*VOICED-CODA, but none for IDENT-IO(voice).

Being presented with these two output candidates, the grammar (whose only goal is selecting an optimal output) must settle for a candidate that has a violation of a lower-ranked constraint, simply because no perfect output candidate is available, satisfying both constraints. This point can be made more general: constraints are intrinsically conflicting, hence perfect output candidates will never occur in any tableau:

- (19) **Fallacy of perfection:** no output form is possible that satisfies all constraints.

An output is ‘optimal’ since there is no such thing as a ‘perfect’ output: all that grammars may accomplish is to select the most harmonic output, the one which incurs the minimal violation of constraints, taking into account their ranking. Nothing better is available.

Observe that the result of the constraint interaction in Dutch is a neutralization of the voicing contrast in a specific context: the syllable coda. That neutralization indeed takes place can be easily shown by the following set of examples:

- (20) a.i /bɛd/ bɛt ‘bed’  
 a.ii /bɛd-ən/ bɛ.dən ‘beds’  
 b.i /bɛt/ bɛt ‘(I) dab’  
 b.ii /bɛt-ən/ bɛ.tən ‘(we) dab’

### 1.3 Examples of constraint interaction

Neutralization of the sound shapes of two lexical items is the ultimate consequence of the domination of markedness over faithfulness. The lexical contrast between /bed/ and /bet/, residing in the value of voicing of their final stem consonants, might (in principle at least) have been preserved in all morphological contexts in which they occur. But this is not the case, and a complete neutralization occurs, into [bet].

#### 1.3.2 Preservation of voicing contrast in English

In English, as opposed to Dutch, an analogous input /bed/ is mapped to an output [bed], preserving the voicing in the final consonant. Accordingly, English contrasts words such as *bed* and *bet*. This is due to the following fragment of the phonology of this language:

- (21) Preservation of voicing contrast in English  
 IDENT-IO(voice)  $\gg$  \*VOICED-CODA

In English, IDENT-IO(voice) dominates \*VOICED-CODA, which is the reverse ranking of the one we established for Dutch. Accordingly, the ‘harmonic ranking’ of the output candidates under discussion is reversed, as compared to the one of Dutch:

- (22) Harmonic ranking of two output candidates for the input /bed/ in English  
 [bed] > [bet]

That is, assuming an input /bed/, ‘[bed] is *more harmonic* than [bet]’ with respect to the ranking in (21).

Again, we illustrate this ranking with the help of a tableau, evaluating the same candidates as we used in tableau (18) for Dutch. Observe that IDENT-IO(voice) and \*VOICED-CODA have changed places:

- (23) Tableau for the input /bed/, assuming the English ranking

Candidates:	IDENT-IO(voice)	*VOICED-CODA
a. [bet]	*!	
b. $\Rightarrow$ [bed]		*

The net result of this ranking is that the ‘index’ pointing at the optimal output has shifted downwards (as compared to tableau 18) to the second candidate under consideration, that is, [bed]. Note that by this ranking, English preserves the phonological contrast between distinct lexical items, as in *bed* [bed] versus *bet*

### *Conflicts in grammars*

[bet]. (This contrast is actually reinforced by a subsidiary vowel length difference between both words: [be•d] versus [bet].)

#### 1.3.3 *The relation between universal and language-specific*

What we have just witnessed in the examples from Dutch and English is the universal ‘pan-grammatical’ conflict of markedness and faithfulness taking place on a micro-scale. In both languages, the same conflict arises with respect to preservation of a contrastive property (the feature [voice]), and its neutralization in a specific context (syllable coda). However, the outcome of this conflict is different for both languages. Dutch resolves it in the favour of markedness whereas English favours faithfulness. This shows that universal constraints are ranked in language-specific ways. OT clearly marks off the universal from the language-specific. Both constraints and the general principles of their interaction are universal, while constraint hierarchies are language-specific.

Speaking of *forces* of faithfulness and markedness is somewhat misleading, since this suggests that conflicts between these ‘forces’ are resolved on a superordinate level in the grammar of a single language. This is clearly not the case. For example, the fact that Dutch ranks markedness above faithfulness with respect to voice in coda obstruents does not imply that it selects the same ranking ( $M \gg F$ ) with respect to voice in other contexts, nor that it selects this ranking with respect to other features in the syllable coda. In Dutch, voice is contrastive in obstruents in onsets (even though voiced obstruents are universally marked). Also, place features are contrastive in obstruents and nasals in codas (in spite of the markedness of labials and velars). This shows that there are no monolithic ‘forces’ of faithfulness and markedness, but that instead finer-grained interactions occur between the context- and feature-specific versions of these classes of constraints. Still, for expository purposes, the classification of constraints into ‘faithfulness’ and ‘markedness’ constraints remains useful, as are shorthand notations such as ‘ $M \gg F$ ’.

These remarks bring us back to our starting point in this section: the conception of universal grammar in OT. But what exactly do we mean by ‘grammar’ in the first place? The OT grammar, and its architecture, will be the topic of the next section.

#### 1.4 **The architecture of an OT grammar**

The OT grammar is an *input–output mechanism* that pairs an output form to an input form (such that each input has precisely one output). To accomplish this function, the grammar contains a division of labour between a component which maps the input onto an infinite set of candidate output forms, and another component that is burdened with *evaluating* the candidate output forms by a set

#### 1.4 The architecture of an OT grammar

of ranked constraints, and selecting the *optimal* output among these. These two components are known under the names of GENERATOR (or *Gen*) and EVALUATOR (or *Eval*). This grammatical organization is schematically represented in a function notation as follows:

- (24) The grammar as an input–output mechanism  
**Gen** (input)  $\Rightarrow$  {cand<sub>1</sub>, cand<sub>2</sub> . . . cand<sub>n</sub>}  
**Eval** {cand<sub>1</sub>, cand<sub>2</sub> . . . cand<sub>n</sub>}  $\Rightarrow$  **output**

That is, *Gen* is a function that, when applied to some input, produces a set of candidates, all of which are logically possible analyses of this input. Similarly, *Eval* is a function that, when applied to a set of output candidates, produces an output, the optimal analysis of the input. In addition to *Gen* and *Eval*, the grammar contains a LEXICON storing all lexical forms that are input to *Gen*. Recapitulating, we find the following model of the grammar:

- (25) Components of the OT grammar  
**LEXICON**: contains lexical representations (or underlying forms) of morphemes, which form the input to:  
**GENERATOR**: generates output candidates for some input, and submits these to:  
**EVALUATOR**: the set of ranked constraints, which evaluates output candidates as to their harmonic values, and selects the optimal candidate.

Let us now focus on some properties of the different components.

##### 1.4.1 The LEXICON, and Richness of the Base

The LEXICON contains all contrastive properties of morphemes (roots, stems, and affixes) of a language, including phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties. The Lexicon provides the input specifications which are to be submitted to the Generator. In this connection, perhaps the most striking property of the Lexicon, as conceived of in OT, is that no specific property can be stated at the level of underlying representations:

- (26) **Richness of the Base**: no constraints hold at the level of underlying forms.

In OT grammatical generalizations are expressed as interactions of constraints *at the level of the output*, never at the input level. Markedness constraints always state requirements of output forms. Faithfulness constraints also evaluate output forms, although they refer to the input level in stating their requirements. The notion of contrast, which derivational theory locates at the level of the lexical

### *Conflicts in grammars*

representation, is attributed to interactions at the output level in OT. Whether or not a feature is contrastive in some language depends on interactions of output-oriented markedness and faithfulness constraints, either preserving or overruling input specifications (see section 1.5).

OT thus abandons *Morpheme Structure Constraints* (MSCs), which in classical generative phonology (Chomsky and Halle 1968) account for prohibitions against specific types of structure at the level of the morpheme, in specific languages. MSCs were used, for example, to express prohibitions against front rounded vowels, or sequences of three or more consonants, or two labial consonants occurring within a morpheme. In the early 1970s MSCs were argued to be theoretically problematic in the sense that they duplicate information which is, independently, expressed by phonological rewrite rules, or that they globally guide the application of rules, a property called ‘structure-preservingness’.<sup>11</sup> By locating the burden of explanation of the lack of specific kinds of structure at the level of the output, OT, in principle at least, circumvents this *Duplication Problem*.

#### 1.4.2 *The GENERATOR, and Freedom of Analysis*

The essential property of the GENERATOR is that it is free to generate any conceivable output candidate for some input. This property is called *Freedom of Analysis*.

(27) **Freedom of Analysis:** Any amount of structure may be posited.

The only true restriction imposed on all output candidates generated by *Gen* is that these are made up of licit elements from the universal vocabularies of linguistic representation, such as segmental structure (features and their grouping below the level of the segment), prosodic structure (mora, syllable, foot, prosodic word, etc.), morphology (root, stem, word, affix, etc.), and syntax (X-bar structure, heads/complements/specifiers, etc.). Within these limits, ‘anything goes’.

Since *Gen* generates all logically possible candidate analyses of a given input, the OT grammar needs no rewrite rules to map inputs onto outputs. All structural changes are applied in one step, in parallel. The evaluation of these candidate analyses is the function of the *Evaluator*, the component of ranked constraints, discussed in section 1.4.3. There we will also discuss the issue of whether or not *Eval* is able to deal with an infinite candidate space.

#### 1.4.3 *The EVALUATOR: economy, strict domination, and parallelism*

The EVALUATOR (henceforth *Eval*) is undoubtedly the central component of the grammar since it is burdened with the responsibility of accounting for all

<sup>11</sup> For example, rewrite rules may be blocked if their output would violate a MSC, or may be triggered to repair a violation of a MSC.